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great conflict we came upon the field of action in time to turn the scale for right and liberty. Not content with aiding Europe to bring to pass the peace which all desired, after victory was won, Mr. Wilson undertook to make us members of an alliance with foreign powers indefinite in extent and containing provisions which threatened the independence, the sovereignty, and the safety of the United States.

This effort on the part of the President was arrested by the action of the Republicans of the Senate, who proposed protecting reservations which he defeated together with the treaty itself. In that work you, sir, took a conspicuous part, and we know that you were in full accord with the belief of your Republican colleagues and the League of Nations as proposed by Mr. Wilson and upon which he and his party still insist ought never to be accepted by the American people.

We have been and are quite ready to join in agreement with other nations for the extension of The Hague conventions; for the upbuilding and codification of international law and the establishment of a world court of justice; for international conferences in regard to non-justiciable questions and for arrangements to bring about a general reduction of armaments.

All these constructive measures are in accord with the traditional policy of the Republican Party, which has done so much in the past to forward the cause of international arbitration. But when we are called upon to become an integral part of a permanent alliance of foreign powers, to put ourselves in a position where the youth of the country can be summoned by foreign nations to fight and die in quarrels not their own, to entangle ourselves in all the conflicts and disputes of Europe where we have no interest, to permit foreign interference with our domestic questions and with the Monroe Doctrine, and to sit in an assembly where our vote is not the equal of that of every other country, we absolutely decline the proposition.

Warns of Internationalism

We stand for the policies of Washington and the doctrine of Monroe and against the internationalism and the permanent alliance with foreign nations proposed by the President. If the world needs us as they needed us in 1917, we shall not fail in our duty, but we can help other nations far better if we are free and untrammelled and do not permit our strength and our resources to be wasted and worn away and the lives of our young men to be sacrificed in endless hostilities with which we have no concern.

Such has been the policy of the Republican Party as represented in the Senate and such its policy will remain. We are certain that you who helped so largely to frame this policy will, when the executive authority comes into your hands, carry it out in such manner that we can fulfill all our responsibilities to the world without binding ourselves by any obligation to a League which, as submitted by the President, is but another name for the evil combination which was attempted a hundred years ago by the ill-omened Holy Alliance.

No national campaign for the Presidency has ever involved graver issues than this one, which now lies before us. Upon you, sir, will rest the great duty and heavy burden of executive authority. We look to you in full confidence to lead us and the people of our beloved country out from the darkness and confusion which the war has brought upon mankind into the light which shines upon a nation where peace reigns and the love of justice, of law, and of order rules in the hearts of the people.

Then we can again take up the work of advancing the United States along the broad road that leads to success, the road which we have followed for more than a century. Then, indeed, we shall not only rise to still loftier heights of achievement for ourselves, but be enabled to render the largest and finest service to humanity.

NEW YORK PARTIES' ATTITUDE

The "unofficial" Republican Convention of New York

State, at its meeting in Saratoga, N. Y., July 28, adopted a platform with the following plank:

Believing that it is the paramount issue of the American people today, we favor the League of Nations plank as contained in the national platform, which declares for a League with such reservations as shall in every way protect the sovereignty and independence of the United States and always retain in Congress alone the power to declare war, as opposed to the League plank adopted by the Democratic Convention, namely, a League with such reservations as shall not in any way impair the integrity of the instrument brought home by President Wilson from Versailles.

The Democratic Convention, in session in Saratoga Springs, August 4, omitted any specific reference to the League, it being agreed that the general endorsement of the Wilson Administration's foreign policy covered the case.

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION CONVENTION

The platform adopted by the National Prohibition Convention, July 22, at its session in Lincoln, Nebr., approved of the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations, not objecting to "reasonable reservations" to the treaty, but asking for immediate ratification.

THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

The plank in the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party, formed in Chicago, July 10-13, demands withdrawal of the United States from participation under the Versailles Treaty in the reduction of conquered peoples to economic or political subjugation; it asks for recognition of Ireland and the Soviet Russian Government; abolition of secret treaties and the withdrawal of the United States from a distasteful exercise over the Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam, and Hawaii. Support to a "League of Free Peoples" is pledged.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND TREATY PUBLICITY

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations has addressed a letter to the members of the League, informing them that an office for the registration and publication of treaties has been set up, in accordance with the terms of the memorandum approved by the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting in Rome on May 19.

Article 18 of the Covenant of the League of Nations reads:

"Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered."

And the Council of the League of Nations declared in its memorandum of May 19, 1920:

"Publicity has for a long time been considered as a source of moral strength in the administration of national law. It should equally strengthen the laws and engagements which exist *between nations*. It will promote public control. It will awaken public interest. It will remove causes for distrust and conflict. Publicity alone will enable the League of Nations to extend a moral sanction to the contractual obligations of its members. It will, moreover, contribute to the formation of a clear and indisputable system of international law."

A treaty will have legal existence after it has been presented for registration by the parties concerned, to whom a certificate of registration will be delivered.

In addition, in a second register, a page will be reserved for each treaty. All relevant information will be entered therein—signatures and ratifications by the parties and, if necessary, subsequent accessions or withdrawals.

Certified extracts from this register may be delivered to States, tribunals, or individuals concerned.

The treaties will not only be registered, but also published. They will appear in a special section of the official journal of the League of Nations, through which they may become known to all.

Moreover, the Council of the League of Nations, actuated by the spirit of Article 18, has authorized the Secretary-General to register and to publish treaties concluded between countries not members of the League, should they request it. The League of Nations thus hopes to realize, within the limits of possibility, the system of open international engagements.

POLAND AND JEWISH POGROMS

British Commissioners Report—Why Migration from Poland

From a report rendered to the Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, made by Stuart M. Samuel, the full text of which is to be found in the *New York Times* of July 29, the Jews of the United States have taken ammunition with which to combat the statement of Prince Lumborski, Polish Ambassador to the United States, that the Jews of Poland had not been persecuted.

FORCED MIGRATION

As the immigration of Polish Jews to the United States has been so great in the past and bids fair to be even larger in the future, the following quotation from Commissioner Samuel's report is valuable, because it indicates the causes that incite this migration, Canada, like the United States, being a popular terminal for the emigrants. The report says:

Polish statesmen frequently assert that the proportion of Jewish small tradesmen to the general population is too great. If the complaint were limited to this alone, it might safely be left to find its own remedy, for I found that the children of this class were not satisfied to follow the parents' vocation, but were endeavoring, by means of attending technical and other schools, to attain a higher educational and social level. This class, however, little above the pauper, ever finds itself driven back upon itself by the economic restraints which it encounters, until at last, in desperation, it is forced to emigrate. I found but few families that had not one member at least in America or Canada. Experience has shown, as in the case of Ireland, that it is always a disadvantage to a country to have an emigration of despairing people, as these sow the seed of their discontent in other lands. A further remedy for this congestion of occupation would be to introduce into Poland new industries, for which Jews in other countries have evinced special aptitude. The difficulty of securing raw material limits the occupations available at the present time, but it would appear quite feasible to start factories for the manufacture of waterproofing, galoshes, furniture, boots, and clothing.

Doubtless western Jews would be prepared to assist their brethren to reach a higher plane of industrial development,

but unfortunately the Christian Poles, although not undertaking such enterprises to any extent themselves, exhibited distinct hostility to any such suggestion, which would benefit both the Jews and State alike. Many Poles, however, enlarge the demand for a reduction of the number of small Jewish tradesmen to one for the reduction of the Jewish population as a whole. The proposition is fraught with a danger not confined to the Jews; it is a danger to the State. To render the conditions of life so intolerable to the Jew as to force him to leave his native country has ever been followed by disastrous consequences to the country where this form of persecution has been essayed, whereas in every country where the Jew has been granted an effective citizenship he has proved himself a mainstay of law and order. The Jew has usually so much to lose through the consequences of disorder that he ranges himself instinctively on the side of good government. It is for the Poles to choose whether they will follow the example of Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Holland, Italy, and the other liberal-minded States, which have treated the Jew equitably, or link their fate with ancient Egypt, medieval Spain, and modern Russia. It must further be considered that when the Jew is driven out his capital is driven out with him. In fact, in most cases it precedes him, for the poor and helpless Jew is not the first to leave in face of economic persecution such as boycott or the fear of personal safety, but rather he who possesses the means to seek happier conditions of livelihood elsewhere. Thus, at the very time when it is vital to the interest of Poland to import capital, were the suggested policy carried into action, it would have for its result the export of capital. In addition, there is the danger that the better minds amongst non-Jews would not be willing to remain in a country wherein truth and justice are absent.

As a specimen of the facts discovered by the commissioner, we quote the following, referring to events in the city of Pinsk:

Pinsk.—The events at Pinsk on the 5th April, 1919, when thirty-five Jews were shot, took place about ten days after the town had been taken from the Bolsheviks by the Polish army. The Polish command had, a day or two before, suffered a reverse at the hands of the Bolsheviks and were in a state of nervousness as to an attack on the town. It seems that two Polish soldiers, one named Kosak, who is now in prison for robbery, and another soldier, since reported as killed in action, informed the military authorities that they had information that the Jews intended to hold a Bolshevik meeting on Saturday in what is known as the People's House, being the headquarters of the Zionists.

The events that followed appear to be so incredible that I think it best to give the evidence of the witnesses. Abraham Feinstein, president of the Zionist Co-operative Society, deposed that about the 28th March he received a letter from the Government Organizer of Co-operative Societies, stating that it was desirable that all co-operative societies in the town should combine, and giving them up to the 7th April to make their decision. He enclosed the government permission for the meeting to take place. The meeting took place on Saturday, the 5th April, and there were about 150 persons present, consisting of men and women. It was decided unanimously to combine. Mr. Baruch Zuckerman, an American, had brought 50,000 marks to be distributed for the holy days. Many of those present went into another room to discuss this, and how the money was to be distributed. Whilst this was going on some boys came in and said soldiers were there to take Jews for forced labor. They all went into the larger hall. Soldiers were shouting and others were stealing food from the refreshment-room. Feinstein ran into a friend's shop on the ground floor to take shelter. Feinstein then hid in Gotlieb's store on the ground floor, but was discovered and a soldier was left to guard him. He heard a shot upstairs. Gotlieb went out to get some water, and came back and said a dead man was lying in the yard. At 10 an under-officer came and said that about fifty people arrested had been shot dead, and that his turn would come at about 5 o'clock the next morn-